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TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION
OF ENQUIRY OF THE LEAGUE
OF NATIONS

We, the members of the Organizing Committee of Hsieh-ho Hui "Concordia Association" beg to submit to you our views on some phases of the Manchurian problems, in the hope that the same might shed some additional light upon the circumstances that led up to the birth of the new State of Manchoukuo.

The first point we wish to stress upon is that the pending Manchurian Issue and our independence from Nanking Government are two and different matters. In the sequence of events the outbreak of last September culminated in the birth of the new State. This fact might put on it the appearance of Japanese initiative and guidance in the advent of Manchoukuo. But nothing is farther from the truth. You must have learned all too well by this time that it was the persistent provocations given by the Nanking and Chang Hsuehliang's Governments against the interests of Japan and her people in Manchuria and Maj.-Gen. Wang-ichu's challenge that forced Kwantung Army to hit back. Our independence movement was started and carried out on our free will, the people native to Manchuria and Mongolia, quite independently of the Japanese operations. The spirit of secession and independence had long been fomented among us by the long years of maladministration and oppression of Chang-hsuehliang and his father. History is full of instances of such secessions, and ours is only one of them.

Still, had it not been for the Japanese Army operations, our independence movement might not have come to a head so soon, but there can be no denying that it was destined to come sooner or later. In this respect, the pending Manchurian Issue may be said to have quickened and facilitated the fulfillment of our cherished dream. The mere fact that some Japanese individuals

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are participating in the building up of the new State must not be misconstrued as a proof of the Japanese prearranged plan. On the other hand, their participation is only a matter of course. For, as is stated in our Declaration of Independence, our Manchoukuo is a state of five peoples, including Japanese, inhabiting the country.

The second point we wish to emphasize is that, since long before the Emperor of the Chin Dynasty built the Great Wall to keep out the "northern barbarians", this vast region outside the Wall known by the names of Manchuria and Mongolia has always remained special district having but slight political connection with what is called China proper. Later, when the Manchus made themselves masters of the realm, the rulers in Peking regarded Manchuria as their Crown Land, separate from the rest of China, and held it as a country forbidden to the Chinese. In addition to this historic tradition, the fact that the territory is at present inhabited by several different peoples speaking different languages, and also the existence therein of the immense Japanese interests, to which it largely owes its peace and order, would seem to add much to the peculiar complexion of the country.

We should add that the honest, lawabiding element among us look upon war, banditry, and misrule with hate and horror, and have remained so long the sports of Fate and the victims of the cruel feudal lords who were really much worse than the hunghudze because they killed and robbed with open authority against which we could not raise a whisper of complaint or grievance.

It would be right against the first principle of humanity and justice to tear us off from our present tie with our neighbours whom we have learned to respect and trust and whose integrity and sincerity are above question, and to consign us to the guardianship of any other party with whom we have but little affinity in spirit, taste, and associations. PURL: <http://www.legal-tools.org/doc/66f0c3/>

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We beg to offer our sincere appreciation of your efforts in the cause of the world peace, and hope they may be crowned with a deserving success. We are looking forward to the day when, the Powers, fully informed of the truths of the pending Issue, will be persuaded to give formal recognition to our new State of Manchoukuo.

Certificate concerning the Source of the Document

I, BANNO, Junkichi, certify that this book hereto attached, consisting of 6 leaves written in Japanese, Chinese, and English, and titled "To the Members of the Commission of Enquiry of the League of Nations" compiled by the Manchu Hsioh-ho Hui (the Manchurian Concordia Association) is what I purchased in Tokyo in 1932 and have thereafter kept under my custody.

On this 3rd day of February in 1947
at Tokyo

/S/ BANNO, Junkichi (seal)

I, SASAGAWA, Tomoji, certify that the above man affixed his signature and seal thereto in the presence of this witness.

On the Same Date
at the Same Place

Witness: /S/ SASAGAWA, Tomoji (seal)

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國際聯盟調查國語公鑒

國際聯盟調查國語卿

滿洲協和會

鑑シテ國際聯盟調查國語卿ノ連月ニ亘ル御苦心ニ對シ衷心ヨリ敬意ヲ表シ、併ヤテ世界歷史上光輝アル平和ノ貢力齎ラサレンコトヲ信シ萬腔ノ感謝ヲ捧ケマス。

私共カ茲ニ滿洲協和會設立委員會ヲ代表シ、一言申上ケル機會ヲ得マシタノハ無上ノ光榮ト存シマス。

諸卿カ滿洲御入國以來、明快ナル御觀察ト御精勵トヲ以テ已ニ多方面ヨリ材料ヲ得ラレマシタ際、更ニ申上ケマス事ハ余ク不必要カトハ存シマスカ、唯日本軍ノ活動ト新滿洲國ノ建設トハ確然ト區別シ處理セラレシコトヲ希望シ、已マナイ次第テアリマス。

事變勃發後ノ經過ヲ外面的ニ見ル時ハ、舊政權ト關東軍ノ衝突、之ニ起因スル舊政權軍閥ノ敗退、新國家ノ成立ナト、恰チ計畫的ニ因果關係アルカノ機ニ見エマス、乍然事實ハ余ク之ニ反シマス、日本軍ノ行動ハ日本ノ必要ニ基キ日本獨自ノ意志ニ依ツテナサレタモノテアリマス、私

共ノ新國家建設ハコノ機會ニ乘シタニ過キマセン。此種革命的情勢ハ舊
軍閥稅政ノ下ニ已ニ醗酵サレ成熟シ切ツテ居タノデアリマス。

由來我カアジア民族ハ德ヲ以テ民ヲ治ムル所謂王道政治ヲ唯一ノ政治
理想トシテ居リマス、是ニハ國境ヲ超越シ民族ノ差ナク、何人ニテ恩澤
カ均霑サレネハナリマセン。五千年ノ政治理想ハ之ニ一貫シ來ツタノテ
アリマス、ヤカテ封建ノ世トナリ諸侯伯間ニ覇道起リ王道・覇道對立ス
ルニ至リマシタ、此種覇道ハ武力階級ノ口實トナリ政治ハ墮落ヲ重ネ、
革命ハ相成イテ起リマシタ。孟子子ハ「政ヲ爲スニ德ナク、以テ民ヲ虐
クルハ是天命ヲ失フナリ」ト唱ヘ革命ヲ主張シテ居リマス。

聯盟國本員諸卿ハ清室ニ於ケル張父子ノ虐政ヲ具サニ見聞セラレタ事
テヤウカ、コレカ王道主義カラ見テ如何ニ結果スルカハ略々御推察出來
ルコトト申ヒマス、斯カル革命的危機ハ作霖時代ニ於テ極點ニ達シテ居
リマシタ、カクノ如キ事例ハ諸卿ノ祖國ニ於ケル君主專制・封建政治ヨ
リ民主革命、或ハ大憲章ノ制定ニ移ル當時ノ民族ノ狀態ト、現在ノ我清
洲ニ於ケル民族ノ窮乏ノ實情トヲ對比セラレ、公平ナル御考察ヲ加ヘテ

ルルナラハ吾々ノ首葉ヲ首肯セラルルコトト存シマス、尙又支那本土ニ
 於ケル清朝以後二十年ノ各電閥間ノ私闘ト、其間ニ在ル民ノ悲慘ナ狀
 態ヲ御觀察下サルナラハ、嘗ニ滿洲門ノミナラス全支ニ漲ル革命思想ヲ
 容易ニ看取セラルルテセウ、目前ノ現象ニ就イテノミ見ル時ハ、恰モ日
 本軍ノ深キ企ラミノ如ク判斷セラレマスカ、之ハ皮相ナル觀察ニシテ寧
 ロ危険ナル判斷ト言ハネハナリマセン。此點日本政府ヲ舉當初ヨリ我
 滿洲ノ民衆思潮ニ對シソノ觀察ヲ誤ツテ居マシタ我等カ斯克支那本土ヨ
 リ獨立シ且滿洲國ヲ建設スルノヲ、夢想タニシナカツタノデアリマス。
 建國運動ハ全ク事變ノ推移ト共ニ振盪シテ來タノデアリマス、日本軍
 ノ行動ハ我等ニトツテ絶好ノ機會デアツタ以外ニ何物テモアリマセン。
 此ハ恰モ歐洲大戰後各小國カ獨立シタ經過ヲ、滿洲國建設ニ於テ經驗シ
 タニ過キマセン、我民族ノ傳統的政治理想ハ斷シテ張氏一家ノ壓政ヲ許
 サナカツタノデアリマス、更ニ若干ノ日本人カ建國運動ニ參加シタ事實
 ヲ以テ明イテ之レヲ軍事行動ニ結ビツケルカ如キハ、我等ノ建國運動ヲ
 否定セントスルモノニシテ、滿洲ノ歴史的事實ヲ殊更ニ覆ハントスルモノ

ノテアリマス。

コノ地タルヤ、昔秦ノ始皇帝カ萬里ノ長城ヲ築ク以前ヨリ國外ノ地化
外ノ民トシテ放任サレ、其後蒙古族、滿洲族、高麗族ノ興亡ヲ閱ミシ或ハ
ハ莫民族ノ殖民地トナリ、清時代トナルニ及ンテ移住民頓ニ増シ、日露
ノ大戰ヲ經テ日本民族ノ經濟的進出著シク、今ヤ民族的錯綜ト經濟松
ノ複端トハ一種ノ特殊地帶ヲ形成シテ來マシタ。斯カル特殊地帶ニアリ
テ、張學良及其一派ノ軍閥カ一意弱道主義ヲ發揮シ、外國人ヲ排斥スル
ニ至リマシタノテ、之等被壓迫各民族カ、軍閥倒潰ト同時ニ「民族協和
」ヲ理想トシテ起ツタノハ、概メテ自然的動向テアリマス。日本人ノ或
ル者カ自衛的立場ヨリ進ンテ建國運動ニ參加シタノハ理ノ當然テアリマ
ス、茲ニ我等協和設立委員會ヲ起ツタ次第テアリマス。

斯カル專横亦諸卿ノ祖國ニ於テ歷史上ニ、遠クハ米國ノ獨立ニ近ク
ハ歐洲大戦後各小國ノ獨立ニ就イテ幾多ノ例ヲ見ラレルコトト思ヒマ
而シテ之等ノ國家カ單一民族ニ依ツテノミ獨立ヲ爲シタモノテナイコト
ヲ信セラレマス。

之ヲ要スルニ

- 一、寧ろ其物ハ舊東北軍閥政權ト日本軍トノ紛争テアリマス。
- 二、滿洲國ノ獨立ハ二十年間張氏一家ノ稅政ニ反シタル在住諸民族ノ協同工作テアリ、東洋道德ヲ基調トシタ倫理運動テアリマス。

賢明ニシテ世界平和ノ便者タル諸卿ヨ！

此二者ノ區別ヲ明白ニセラレ世界ノ正義人道建設ノ立場ヨリ我等等々民族ノ協和ニ成ル滿洲國獨立ノ真相カ各國ニ承認サル様御斡旋ノ勞ヲ煩ハセラレンコトヲ切ニ念願スル次第テアリマス。

吾等ハ茲ニ滿洲國ノ獨立カ完成シ亞細亞民族ノ政治理想カ實現サレ、概算四半世紀ニ亘ル争亂ガ熄ミ、延イテハ四億ノ民衆カ覺醒スル原因トナリ、且東洋ヲ打ツテ一丸トシタ平和環境カ實現サレルコトニヨリ、文明先進國ノ工業ノ好市場トナリ、從ツテ國際紛争ノ禍根ヲ根絶スルコトヲ信スルモノテアリマス。此點ニ從同情アル注意ヲ寄セラレ御賢察ノ明ヲ賜レ給ハレコトヲ切ニ願スル次第テアリマス。

LIF LOC n 504

大同元年六月一日

LIF LOC n 504

亞洲協會

大同元年六月一日

164 0002 1353

文書ノ出所ニ關スル證明書

本書ニ添付サル^{日本}英語ニテ書カレタル六葉ヨリ成ル^英洲協和會
 國聯盟調查國語公^英ト題スル書籍ハ一九三二年東京ニ於テ購入
 シ爾來自分ニ於テ藏置サル書籍ナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年 二月 三日 於東京

阪 塾 淳 吉

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタルモノナルコトヲ證明ス

同日 於同所

立會人 佐々川 知治